

Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly

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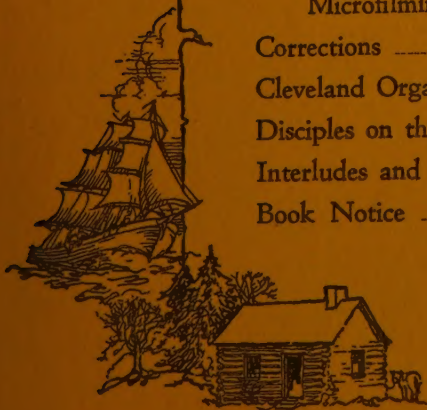
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PACIFIC LUTHERAN
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Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly

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The Development of Lutheranism in the Pacific Northwest with Specific Reference to the Northwest District, The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod

By THEODORE C. MOELLER, JR., B. A., B. D.*

I

The Oregon Territory

Eastward I go only by force; but westward I go free. . . . Let me live where I will, on this side is the city, on that the wilderness, and ever I am leaving the city more and more and withdrawing into the wilderness. I should not lay so much stress on this fact if I did not believe that something like this is the prevailing tendency of my countrymen. I must walk toward Oregon, and not toward Europe.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU¹

It is not likely that Thoreau, as he walked beside his Walden Pond, envisioned even slightly the final fulfillment of his countrymen's westward tendencies, for today, some one hundred-odd years later, the picture is still a developing one. The Pacific Northwest is not the wilderness of Thoreau, but neither is it the teeming bustle of an Eastern metropolitan area. John Gunther's study of the United States makes the following summary of the area:

Oregon and Washington — with Idaho as a sort of pendant — is the splendid open world of the Northwest, which means the world of the Columbia River basin. Roses at Christmas, salmon that climb ladders, the greatest timber stands in the nation, personalities like Wayne Morse and Dave Beck, and tall tales of Paul Bunyan, spacious and maximal issues like public power, wheat fields that look painted by Van Gogh, and more social energy, more social vision than in any comparable region in the country — these are some distinguishing characteristics of Oregon and Washington.²

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The Northwest today is an area of contrasts, growing cities and expanding rural reclamation, progressive institutions of higher learning and lax elementary educational facilities, radical inclinations among an usually stable conservatism. But above all this is the predominant factor — ever-increasing growth.

The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod has grown with the region. Not quite sixty years ago a group of its clergymen bound themselves together into a District to further the work of the church in the Northwest. As the area has grown and moved forward, so the Northwest District has expanded and developed. It is the purpose of this study to chronicle the events which have brought The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod in the Northwest to its present position. This story, like every study of the West, finds its beginnings in the East and its future in the continued blessings of the gracious God, who has bestowed so much on the labors of the men who followed the setting sun.

In 1789 a lusty republic was launching out on its career. The main impulse of this energy was westward — ever westward. And yet, as the frontier pushed into the rolling hills of Ohio — a distant West for the majority of the new countrymen — already the commercial minds of New England were laying the foundation for a West that even the most starry-eyed did not dream of. Boston merchants were determined to trade with the Orient. The Orientals were eager to obtain furs; the northwest coast of America was a natural supply ground. It was a simple matter to buy pelts from the Indians of the Northwest, ship them to China, and bring home teas and silks.

In just such a line of business the Yankee captain Robert Gray chanced upon the entrance of a mighty river on the upper Pacific Coast, which he named after his ship, the *Columbia*, thereby giving the United States a claim to the entire territory drained by its waters.³ Already in the eighteenth century, Spain, Russia, France, and Great Britain had set forth vague claims to the Oregon country. With the acquisition in 1803 of the Louisiana Territory by President Jefferson's diplomatic maneuvering, the opportunity for a more solid exploration of the Oregon claim presented itself. In 1804 the Lewis and Clark Expedition traveled the length of the Missouri River, crossed the Continental Divide, and explored the Columbia Valley. Shortly after that expedition, the New York financier John Jacob Astor set up his American Fur Company with a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia, which was called Astoria.

At about the same time an Englishman, Vancouver, thoroughly explored Puget Sound, giving names to many geographical features which have remained to this day.⁴ However, the Hudson Bay Company in its westward movement discouraged any settlement of the area in the Columbia Basin, hoping to maintain the region as a permanent game preserve for its trade. By 1818 the northwestern border of our country had become a matter of dispute with Great Britain, and in the Anglo-American Convention of that year an agreement was reached establishing the forty-ninth parallel as the northern boundary of the United States as far west as the Rockies.⁵ Provision was made at the same time for a joint occupation of the Oregon country for ten years. Actually, this latter arrangement gave the representatives of the Hudson Bay Company control of the region. When this agreement was renewed in 1827 for an indefinite period, the only provision for eventual American occupation was a clause granting either nation the right to terminate the agreement by giving a year's notice.

Already American interests in the valley were expanding. While prior to 1830 the contact of the United States with the territory was limited to the visits of trappers and traders, during the next two decades a flow of migration began. In the main this was prompted by the propaganda of enthusiasts like Hall J. Kelley, who had organized a society for the settlement of the territory, and the trail breaking of Nathaniel Wyeth, who in 1832 and again in 1836 had proved the practicability of a wagon route to the area. This steady stream of immigrants, which reached considerable proportions in 1843, gave rise to the demands of the extremists that the United States acquire all of Oregon. The slogan "Fifty-four forty or fight!" was a reference to the northern boundary of the territory.

In 1845 the human rivulet following the Oregon Trail rose to a broad stream. More than three thousand people came into the Willamette Valley alone. This mass movement made Oregon an American community, doing as much as diplomacy to secure it for the United States. The year of decision was 1846. As Bernard De Voto comments in his book: "The nation began the year in crisis. It was a crisis in foreign relations. The United States was facing the possibility of two wars — with Great Britain and with Mexico. But these foreign dangers had arisen out of purely domestic energies. They involved our history, our geography, our social institutions, and something that must be called both a tradition

and a dream.”⁶ After much diplomatic maneuvering, conflict was avoided, and a peaceable settlement was reached, fixing the boundary at the forty-ninth parallel. In 1848 the entire area of the Northwest (Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming) was given territorial status.⁷

Missionary activities among the Indians in the Pacific Northwest had been undertaken in the earliest days. Already in 1798 a German, Baron August von Schirnding, proposed the establishment of a Christian mission on the Pacific Northwest Coast.⁸ His plan never materialized, but projects of a similar nature arose from time to time. The Lewis and Clark Expedition had made a strong impression on the Indians in the Pacific Northwest, religiously speaking, and this impression had been strengthened by their associations with the trappers, mountain men, and fur traders. Christianity was first introduced among the Flathead Indians sometime between 1812 and 1820 by a wandering band of Iroquois from a mission near Montreal, Canada. Their chief, Big Ignace, was a zealous teacher of the Catholic faith.⁹

The first religious influence, however, did not come from missionaries. Among the employees of the Hudson Bay Company were Presbyterians and Episcopalians, who conducted services for both the trappers and the Indians. At Fort Walla Walla, Pierre Pambrun, chief trader, gave Catholic instructions. Indian teachers, like Spokane Garry, trained at the Red River Settlement under the sponsorship of the Hudson Bay Company, held services and taught the Minor Historical Catechism.¹⁰

In the meantime the missionary needs of the Northwest were not forgotten on the Atlantic Coast. In 1810—11 plans for a mission project in the Pacific Northwest were being formulated at Andover Theological Seminary.¹¹ During the same years the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed. This board represented the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Dutch Reformed churches, using Boston as its home office. Separate mission societies were also being formed. The Baptist Society originated in 1813 and the Methodist Board in 1819. Both these groups were to exert an effort in the missionizing of the Northwest.

In 1819 the American Board dispatched its first missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands. A mission was established in 1820.¹² Because of the numerous maritime contacts between the Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific Northwest coast, these missionaries suggested to the Board that the Pacific Northwest might be suitable

location for mission work. In response to this, the Board, under its Prudential Committee, sent Rev. J. S. Green from Hawaii to the Northwest coast on a tour of reconnaissance. Green didn't land, but he investigated the ports and suggested that a mission be established near the mouth or lower part of the Columbia River. However, the Board delayed action on Green's proposal.¹³

Methodist lay missionaries were among the first to go west to work among the natives. It is not unusual, then, that we would find them among the first agricultural settlements in the Willamette Valley. While their labors were in the main among the settlers, nevertheless their influence was no doubt valuable. The first direct move to establish missions in Oregon was made by the Methodist Missionary Society. Their interest in missionizing this area came about in a rather unusual way. A delegation of Nez Perce and Flathead Indians had come to St. Louis to see General Clark of expedition fame. They had only a slight knowledge of Christianity, were attracted by it, and sought out Clark for further information. The story became highly imaginative and sentimentalized through retelling, but the result was a wide circulation through the pages of the Methodist magazine *The Christian Advocate*. Shortly after this the Mission Board announced the appointment of Jason Lee to be their missionary to the Flatheads. Thus, Jason Lee and his nephew Daniel, together with two lay assistants, left St. Louis in April 1834 by boat.¹⁴ Arriving in early autumn, Dr. McLoughlin, the longtime and famed ruling representative of the Hudson Bay Company, advised them to settle in the Willamette Valley, where the Indians were friendlier, thus keeping them out of his territory north of the Columbia River. Unfortunately this move also kept them from serving the Nez Perce and the Flatheads. Lee established a mission in French Prairie late in 1834. Subsequently branch missions were set up at The Dalles and Fort Nisqually.¹⁵

The work was difficult from the beginning, and the results seemed useless. The adult Indians were hopeless, but Lee held out hope for the children, who began attending his mission school. In an endeavor to reach an even wider group, he sent pleas to the Board to provide reinforcements. They responded in 1837 by sending twenty more workers. The next year Lee returned to the States to recruit additional laborers and at the same time to generate interest in migration.¹⁶ These reinforcements mark a turning point in the work of the mission. As the addition of more settlers brought attention to secular concerns, the interest in missionary work

dwindled. The Board, realizing this prevailing attitude, replaced the Lees with Rev. George Gary, who attempted to disassociate the mission from much of its secular activities. However, the mission was known from this time on as the nucleus of the American colonization, and it became the mecca for all those later pilgrims to whom the name Willamette Valley became synonymous with Oregon.

Almost simultaneously with the Methodist Mission Board, the American Board was stirred to action. The Rev. Samuel Parker of Middlefield, Mass., was approached for such a mission in 1833, but circumstances prevented his two associates and himself from getting to St. Louis until the next year. They had planned to cross the plains with a caravan, but it had left six weeks prior to their arrival. Traveling part way along the trail west, Parker left his associates to work among the Pawnees, while he returned east to look for additional workers. During the fall and winter of 1834 to 1835 he held missionary meetings in western New York. It was on this tour that he met and became acquainted with Marcus Whitman and Narcissa Prentiss, later to become Whitman's wife. In a study of these two missionaries, M. Trinklein quotes: "Although Parker did not realize the full significance of the drama then in its preliminary stages, we now both know that one of his greatest services to the cause of both church and state was to find these two characters and to interest them in Old Oregon."¹⁷ In 1836 Whitman arrived in the territory, establishing a mission at Waiilatpu (near present Walla Walla). Thus the first Christian missionary work among the Indians in the Washington area was begun. The unfortunate massacre of Whitman and his group eleven years later brought an end to this first phase of work in that region.

In 1838 two Roman Catholic priests arrived to serve not only the Indians, but particularly the French-Canadian fur traders in this region. Fathers Blanchet and Demers set up their first mission on the Cowlitz River. Father Blanchet was later elevated to the bishopric of Walla Walla.¹⁸ Some individuals have suspected the endeavors of these men as contributing factors in the Whitman massacre, but this statement is without proof. Rivalry did exist, to be sure, but missionaries, no matter what denomination, were an important part in the settling of this country. They were the vanguard of the western movement.

At the same time as these efforts were being exerted in Oregon and Washington, the area of what is today Idaho was being opened

to the Gospel. In 1836 the American Board sent Rev. H. Spaulding into that territory. He set up a school for the Indians near present-day Lewiston. Here also the first printing press in the Oregon Territory was founded and on it a primer, a hymnbook, and the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the Nez Perce language were produced.¹⁹ In 1842 Father DeSmet, a Jesuit who had worked in the Washington Territory for the previous two years, established a mission among the Coeur d'Alene Indians. Limited immigration, owing to the unfavorable agricultural conditions, hindered the expansion of mission work in this area.

As has been already noted, Germany had an interest in missionizing the Pacific Northwest already in the eighteenth century. An attempt to bring fruition out of these verbal efforts was tried by the Barmen Mission Institute. This was a nonconfessional group in Germany whose design was to establish missions among the American Indians, and in a secondary way, to serve the Germans occupying the adjacent territories.²⁰ They advised their missionaries to remain ecclesiastically independent, joining neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed groups. P. Heyer and T. Niess were sent in 1836 as missionaries to the Oregon Territory. Niess became sick, causing a delay in St. Louis, and Heyer then accepted a call to serve a German congregation near St. Charles, Mo. A substitute, L. Nollau, was sent to replace Heyer with instructions to work among the Flathead tribes in Oregon. However, just as they were to set out, Niess took sick again and died. J. Muehlhaeuser was sent to join Nollau and proceed with the project. When he established himself in the East, however, the Barmen Mission Institute decided to abandon the entire project and requested Nollau to return to New York. It is interesting to note that their abandonment of this endeavor was based upon the conclusion that the current Saxon immigration under Stephan would take care of this Western mission work.²¹ The Barmen Institute did finally succeed in placing one of its men on the Pacific Coast, when in 1849 H. Kroh moved to California with the idea of establishing the Reformed Church on the West Coast.

At the time these endeavors of the Barmen group were meeting such obstacles, a wave of German immigration to the Oregon district began. While the exact number is unknown, it is obvious that the families which had pushed the frontier steadily westward were reappearing in the valley of the Columbia to found a new state.²² Among the Germans who came into the territory we see Henry

L. Yesler, who founded Seattle in 1852, constructing a sawmill at that place. While Olympia was the first American settlement in the Washington Territory (1845), it was the efforts of Yesler and other German settlers which brought the increase to the area. It was obvious that the time was ripe for work among the German Lutherans in this new acquisition of the United States.

And yet, it was the work of another German, from the Grand Duchy of Baden, Captain John A. Sutter, which inadvertently turned the course of Pacific development. As late as 1846 there was no dependable, detailed map of California in existence. A direct path to California was unknown until Fremont's party of 1843 wandered by accident down there from Oregon, and while such books as Hastings' *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*²³ were being circulated, the California section was minimized. In fact, there were from six to seven thousand Americans in Oregon in 1846, while only some eight hundred in California.²⁴ This, however, did not deter the expansionist policies of the American diplomats at this time from seeking also the acquisition of California. The value of this possession became most evident when Captain Sutter decided to expand the capacity of his mill by deepening the millrace. Thus it was, as De Voto puts it in his book: "On that Monday morning Marshall turned the water out of the tailrace as usual, and toward mid-afternoon got down into it to see how much progress had been made. Not much, for they were down to bedrock. A few inches of water covered the granite shelf. Marshall saw something shiny under that water. He stooped to pick it up."²⁵ The gold rush had begun!

The effect of this on the Oregon Territory was almost disastrous. The lure of quick wealth drew many settlers away from the Northwest. In an effort to check this mass departure, Congress in 1850 passed the Donation Land Act. This provided that every male inhabitant who had settled in Oregon before the first of December, 1850, should receive 320 acres of land, and a similar amount for his wife; each male settler dating from December 1, 1850, to December 1, 1853, should receive 160 acres of land and an equal amount in addition if he were married. The one condition imposed upon these settlers was that they should remain four years.²⁶ Over eight thousand registered under this Land Act. This created a well-to-do land-rich class of settlers who remained permanently. Thus Portland and surrounding area developed a stable settlement, among which were a number of German Lu-

therans. The time had come for Lutheran work to move westward with the destiny of the country.

Hasten Forth to Oregon

Hasten forth, O swift Evangel
 Hasten on to Oregon.
 'Waken men in spirit mortal
 With the tidings of God's Son.
 Hasten forth, belov'd, haste onward
 To the far Pacific shore;
 Idols dumb hurl down dishonored
 And acclaim Christ evermore.

HERMANN FICK ²⁷

On the interior pages of the February 8, 1848, *Der Lutheraner* an article entitled "Aufruf zu einer Missions-Compagnie nach Oregon" appeared.²⁸ The author, Hermann Fick, in addition to several paragraphs describing the need for our church to work among the Germans in the territory, composed a five-stanza poem appealing for mission-mindedness in the Far West. While there was no immediate discernible effect, at the Delegate Convention of Synod at Fort Wayne in 1852 the matter was brought before the convention. Dr. Walther told the assembled delegates that Pastor Wilhelm Loehe had written him of a Pastor Fleischmann and a Mr. Vonetti who were planning to work among the Germans in California. These men were willing to come to St. Louis and place themselves at the disposal of the Missouri Synod. Unfortunately, nothing of this offer materialized.²⁹

When by 1856 no action had been taken, C. J. H. Fick of the Northern District argued that the concern of California missions was a synodical matter, and therefore their responsibility. The question was brought before both the Western and Northern District conventions again that year, but though all agreed that such endeavors would be desirable, no concrete action was taken.³⁰

However, *Der Lutheraner* once more exerted its influence in this matter, printing in 1859 an anonymous letter from a resident of San Francisco.³¹ It was a passionate plea for the need of the pure Gospel among the increasing number of settlers in the San Francisco area: ". . . I must let you know that things look bad among the Christians and in particular among the Lutherans. The good old Lutheran doctrine is being totally forgotten because there is not an orthodox church here . . . there are five German churches here, one in Sacramento, one in Stockton, and two in San Francisco

... these four are Methodist."³² [Ed.: The fifth in San Francisco was associated with the "United" or Reformed Church.]

This letter which reached Walther had the desired effect. In the light of the widespread interest generated by the publication and appeal for funds in *Der Lutheraner*, a call was extended to
v a June 1860 graduate of the St. Louis Seminary, Jacob Matthias Buehler.

This pioneer worker of Synod on the Pacific Coast was born in Baltimore, Md., in 1837. He went to the St. Louis Seminary, and while there was instructed and confirmed by Walther. Just prior to his acceptance of the call to serve in California he had worked among the English-speaking Lutherans in the Baltimore area as a vicar. Thus it was that on August 25, 1860, Buehler arrived in San Francisco to begin the work of the Missouri Synod.

One of his first acts upon arrival was to call upon a German preacher by the name of Moshake, of whom he had heard on his trip to the coast. This man had preached in a small church on Greenwich Street, but had been deposed from office. After meeting Buehler, he declared his willingness to have Buehler take over his congregation.³³ However, Buehler did not accept this offer without examining the situation further, because he did not want to tamper in the affairs of other men. He wanted first to get a better idea of religious conditions prevailing in the city.

He attended the services of a Rev. Rahn of the United Church in the morning of the first Sunday there, and in the afternoon listened to Moshake preach at the Greenwich Street church. That evening he inserted the following comment in his diary: "I went to bed with my head full of thoughts of all kinds. I had thoroughly convinced myself that the bright and refreshing light of the Gospel has for us Germans been totally extinguished, except for some faint glimmering of it in the churches of the sects; and I went to sleep after calling on the Lord for wisdom and power to proclaim the faithful Shepherd."³⁴ With these thoughts weighing on his mind, he accepted the invitation of Moshake to take over the services in the Greenwich Street church, preaching his initial sermon there the following Sunday, September 2, 1860. A congregation was organized under his direction in November of that year,³⁵ and he was called as their pastor at the same time.

With work satisfactorily under way in San Francisco, he began to examine the expansion possibilities of the work in the California area. Journeying to Sacramento in the spring of 1861, he organized

a congregation there, drafted a constitution, and a call was extended to W. Bartling, but it was not accepted.³⁶ This, plus the fact that the additional men he had requested from the East were not forthcoming, caused the default of the work in that area, and the church came under other influences.

In 1862 Buehler married Louise Wyneken, the daughter of President Wyneken, in San Francisco. Thus, by relation and religious sonship, he was on close terms with two of the most influential men in Synod. He continued to request additional men to serve the expanding areas of California, but with the country in the throes of the Civil War, pressing needs in the East, together with the uncertain stand of the church in this matter, caused great delay in accomplishing anything specific in the line of sending additional men to the Pacific Coast.

And even as the work progressed in San Francisco, trouble was looming on the horizon. The property on Greenwich Street had to be razed to make way for the widening of the streets and spread of the city. On this occasion a group withdrew, retaining the name, *Erste Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinde*, and the property. This group soon accepted a man by the name of Hansen as their pastor. Buehler, holding firm to confessional Lutheranism, gathered the remaining faithful, and they built a new basement structure, dedicating it on Christmas Day 1863. Pressure was brought to bear now to reunite the two groups under a quasi-Lutheran, quasi-rationalistic platform. Buehler resisted, and although some opposition came from within, St. Mark's, as it was now known, remained faithful.³⁷

By 1866 work was begun for the completion of the church building, and the congregation granted Buehler an eight-month vacation so that he might visit the East and Europe. During this time a candidate, Ebert, served the congregation.³⁸ He returned at Christmas time, at which time also the completed church unit was dedicated. During his absence, however, agitators had again attempted to effect a union between the two churches. Buehler was asked for a more liberal administration of his pastoral office. Finally, during Holy Week of 1867 the culminating troubles resulted with the request that he take an unscriptural lodge position. No longer able in conscience to serve them, he resigned the pastorate of St. Mark's. This entire problem is the subject of a thesis being prepared by Eldon Stohs,³⁹ and it shall be sufficient to state here that the division did not take place as a result of this last matter

of confessional Lutheran loyalty. Buehler himself commented, "Ich habe eine unGemeinde verloren."⁴⁰

Even while he was handing in his resignation, a group of members approached him, urging him to form a new congregation; thus, on Easter Sunday 1867 he began a new effort, preaching in a rented hall. He quickly gained a new following, even though he was subject to the most unfair maligning, by both public press and other groups, and was offered money to leave the city.⁴¹ On the seventeenth of May, 1867, St. Paulus Church was organized, the congregation which Buehler was to serve for the remaining thirty-four years of his life.

A. Hansen, a pastor in California since 1902, comments on the life of Buehler:

Rev. Buehler entered into Synod's missionary work when things in California were shaping up more after the conventional picture of American life following the turbulent gold rush years; when in civic, school, church, and business life more settled conditions had to be striven for and required reliable and strong leadership; when the Civil War was upon the country; when Buehler could not begin work with a nucleus of Missouri Synod people; when "Lutherans" of all stripes had to be dealt with; when circumstances had to direct and alter many cases and had no equal pattern in Synod's realm. One feels that had Buehler not been of the giant stature he was, his efforts and successes would not have been what they proved to be under God's mercies. This was an apostolic work in a decidedly complex period of California history.⁴²

There is no question that the splits in the congregation he had begun had a disturbing effect on Buehler personally, and yet, as Rev. Hansen states, the giant that he was enabled him to weather the storms.

It would be grossly unfair also to construe from this strictness that Buehler took a non-co-operative spirit in the work of the Lutheran Church in the true sense. On the contrary, he urged and encouraged the introduction of a Norwegian mission in the San Francisco area. He contacted the Norwegians in Milwaukee, informing them that he was performing the ministerial acts among their people in town, and suggesting that they send a pastor to serve the group, promising them his help in any way possible.⁴³

As Buehler had noted himself, the work among Lutherans in the sense that it was Lutheranism being preached was almost negligible in these early years. While a sizable Scandinavian population had been developing after the gold rush, any sort of religious service to them was indifferent. A Swede by the name of "Janne"

Tenngren, who had come to California in 1851, conducted services by reading sermons and devotional material.⁴⁴ By 1860, however, when efforts were made to organize a Swedish Lutheran congregation in San Francisco, he had returned to Sweden. J. J. Lindgren was called from Sweden; he came to San Francisco, but returned home when he found that the Danes and Norwegians would not affiliate with a group harboring Swedes. Upon his return he warned his countrymen of the "perils" of America and particularly California, an item which made no little contribution to the neglect of Lutheran work there.⁴⁵

In 1870, then, the Norwegians sent Christian Hvistendahl of Milwaukee to San Francisco. Upon his arrival Buehler immediately lived up to the words he had written, for Hvistendahl wrote: "He took me into his house as a brother, guided me to the leading Scandinavians who had some interest in the church, and arranged for us to hold services, without rent, in his church building, which is conveniently located."⁴⁶ There was the problem of older Scandinavian pastors in the city who attacked this connection with Buehler. In addition, Rev. O. Groensberg organized a congregation which also took membership in the Norwegian Synod.⁴⁷ The latter, however, seems to have been a welcome addition to the work in the area.

Meanwhile, the work of Buehler was progressing nicely. In 1872 St. Paulus opened the first Christian day school on the Pacific Coast. A school association established by Buehler was its sponsor until 1881, when the church undertook its control alone.⁴⁸ Hvistendahl was very much enthused with the school and hoped to put a Scandinavian department into it when it organized.⁴⁹ However, this plan did not materialize. Nevertheless, he remained a strong supporter of the school, writing back to his friends in Milwaukee in 1873 of its influence and the fact that "it already has about one hundred pupils, the first school of its kind on the Pacific Coast."⁵⁰ He remained an ardent admirer of Buehler until he left California, a fact attested by one of his last letters in which he comments: "We have been very happy to send our daughter to the school (Buehler's) where discipline is enforced and instruction is based upon a Christian foundation. . . . Association with Pastor Buehler is my greatest inspiration."⁵¹

The year 1876 saw the return of Hvistendahl to the East, where he continued to serve the Norwegians there. Upon leaving he advised against migration to Oregon, where, as he put it, "Life

is still more wild and unchristian than in California.”⁵² He did offer suggestions though for reliable information should people choose to go to Oregon, directing them to a Mr. Hjerpeland of Portland, who had traveled throughout that area. Noteworthy also is the report he gives of the unreliability of Rev. Anders E. Fridrichsen, a Norwegian pastor in Portland, who had much to contribute to the Missouri Synod in that area.⁵³

Oregon at this time was not served by Missouri Synod Lutheran pastors. There is little doubt that Buehler saw the need there, but the press of the first ten years in California pushed this to the background. Fridrichsen, an eccentric and unclerical Norwegian pastor, who had worked in the Midwest, came to the coast from Texas in 1870. He stopped in San Francisco on the way, attempting to organize a congregation there but was unsuccessful. No record is available of any contact with Buehler, but almost immediately after his arrival he pushed north to settle in Portland. ✓ Arriving there in 1871, he organized a congregation in April of that year, the first Scandinavian Lutheran church to be established in Oregon.⁵⁴ It seems that he went to Portland at the invitation of an English Lutheran pastor there, with the express purpose of working among the Scandinavians. The census of 1870 showed a total of 112 Norwegians in both the state of Oregon and the territory of Washington. However, letters appeared in the Norwegian papers in the East encouraging settlement and migration, explaining the great natural resources and the fact that the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad made migration much easier. These articles did much to dispel the widespread notions of the freezing climate and unfavorable farming conditions, as the following example illustrates: “But an ounce of experience is worth a pound of argument, and I would advise the ladies who before long will want to take a trip to Pudget Sound via the Northern Pacific Railroad not to bring their (ice) skates.”⁵⁵ Fridrichsen held an equally high opinion of Oregon, writing east after his arrival that “Oregon will be the greatest state in the Union on account of the extraordinary fertility of its soil and the mildness of its climate.”⁵⁶

Not restricting his activities to Portland, Fridrichsen organized a congregation of fourteen people at Oysterville on the Washington coast in 1871 and accepted their call as pastor. Over the course of the next eleven years he served congregations and held services throughout the entire Northwest, for the most part among the

Norwegians, but also to German and English communities. At the same time he never ceased to stimulate and attempt to organize immigrant groups to come out and settle this country.

It is no doubt this publicity of the Oregon land and climate which brought the first Missouri Synod work to that area. August Kentner, pastor in the Minnesota Synod, resigned his pastorate and came to Oregon in 1876 for reasons of health, settling at Middleton (near present-day Sherwood), a community in the Willamette Valley just west of Portland. He began to preach to the many German settlers in the area and two years later organized a congregation, the first and oldest Missouri Synod church in the Northwest,⁵⁷ (St. Paul's), constructing a building that same year, 1878.

A second, and evidently unrelated, effort to establish the Missouri Synod in Oregon was made by the Western District. Buehler attended the Western District convention in 1880 for the first time in twenty years. The necessity of work in Oregon and California was pressed hard, and aside from the men who for various reasons (health and call) were in California, the need for an aggressive missionary in Oregon was met with the calling of Rev. Edward Doering of the Chicago area.⁵⁸ It was extremely difficult for the District to get men to serve such a distant field, particularly in the light of the needs at home, but Doering accepted the call and arrived in Oregon in September 1881. Working out of Portland, he immediately began canvassing the Germans of the area, and in town this work laid the foundation for Zion Lutheran Church.

This entrance of Doering into Portland brings the Norwegian, Rev. A. Fridrichsen, into the picture again. Fridrichsen was an energetic worker in Portland. He built both a church and parsonage on the corner of East Seventh Street and Lincoln Avenue. This property, as far as we can determine from the extant records, belonged to him by virtue of the fact that he built it with his personal funds. What records are available state: "According to the protocol of the congregation (which used this building), he was a member of the Joint Synod of Ohio and other states. But when this synod could not assume charge of the work in Portland, he willed his property to the Missouri Synod with the wish that the money be used for mission work on the West Coast. He died in 1882."⁵⁹ Already before he died, these buildings were used by Doering for services, the first service in Portland of the Lutheran mission being held Sunday, September 4, 1881. When Fridrichsen

died, there was evident ill will over the wishes he expressed about the disposal of the property, to the point that the Norwegian paper of Minneapolis, *Norden*, reported in February of that year: "There was a great deal of resentment over this (the will leaving the property to the Missouri Synod), and the will may be declared invalid."⁶⁰ Unfortunately the outcome of the matter is not too clear. Enough is the fact that this Fridrichsen, of whom the Californian Hvistendahl spoke so poorly, contributed materially to the work of our church in Portland.

Doering was drawn also by the work of Kentner to the communities lying west of Portland. Coming to a settlement near Cornelius, he began rounding up prospective hearers for a service. Simon comments on this activity:

It had been tried before, and those whom she sought discouraged him with the prospect of another failure. But a hospitable house was found, and date set, and the singing of the familiar hymns changed the atmosphere from one of discouragement to one of enthusiasm. It was decided to have services every four weeks in the various houses. When houses were too small for the number of people attending, the building of a church was decided upon. Plans were made in 1882, and the church built that same year. This manner of beginning and extending mission work is fairly representative of Doering's methods.⁶¹

In 1883 Doering also took over the work which Kentner had begun in Sherwood.

The pioneer members of this group remember such items as the first mission festival. Kentner preached in the rain, protected by Doering standing next to him with an umbrella. The signal for this and for regular services was the blowing of stumps by Doering on his nearby farm the Saturday before the appropriate Sunday. An odd substitute for a church bell, but evidently quite serviceable.

Without question, Doering was to the Northwest what Buehler was to California. He tirelessly traveled the entire territory, preaching, visiting, baptizing, and instructing. Almost every congregation founded before the turn of the century can find the seeds of its group in Doering's work. He was a tireless traveler, and a diligent chronicler of his work; a factor that in no small measure contributes to our knowledge of early toil in the area. A brother pastor writes of him: "Pastor Doering was a very modest, unassuming man, of simple habits. He was not graced with great oratorical gifts, but rather somewhat hampered in his enunciation by brogue, nevertheless by preaching the Gospel in its simple beauty, to the

best of his ability, his efforts were crowned with success. As he was of sound bodily health, and an indefatigable worker, he could quite regularly cover his large field."⁶² His field was large indeed, and the need for additional men was ever present.

Buehler went east to the synodical convention in 1884 and again put forth pleas for more men on the coast. No help was immediately forthcoming, but another pastor, Moritz Claus, had come to Oregon to regain his health in 1885. He was to become the second regular pastor in the area in two years. At about this time also (1885—86), a pastoral conference was formed, called alternately the California Concordia Conference or the Pacific Conference. The men in Oregon were included, with Buehler serving as its first chairman.⁶³ The distances involved in such a "local" arrangement were tremendous, much more the District connections (Western—St. Louis), and realizing this, the Western District Convention of 1885 urged by resolution that the area form its own District.

The Delegate Synod met at Fort Wayne in 1887. Rev. J. H. Theiss of Alameda, Calif., attended as the coast representative, and after presenting an appeal for more men, was given official encouragement for the forming of a separate District. Upon his return St. Paulus Congregation called on all the congregations on the Pacific Coast to assemble at San Francisco for the purpose of District organization. On September 21, 1887, this was accomplished under the leadership of Dr. H. C. Schwan, President of Synod. Four congregations, four voting pastors, five advisory pastors, and two teachers constituted the first roster of this new synodical District. Buehler was elected President of the District as well as chairman of the Mission Board.⁶⁴

Oregon formed the Northern Conference of the District. Early in 1887 M. Claus had regained his health sufficiently to serve the church and was called to the Sherwood-Cornelius field. In addition Fr. Selle, a candidate, was called into the eastern area of Washington-Oregon with Pendleton, Oreg., as his headquarters. Both Claus and Doering attended the founding session of the District, Selle being unable to attend because of illness.⁶⁵ Doering worked as a *Reiseprediger*, using Portland as his headquarters. Prospects were looking up for the new District and its Northern Conference.

While Doering had begun his work in Portland and preached there first, the work among the settlements west and downstate took up the greater portion of his time. However, he began to conduct

regular afternoon services in Portland while serving Sherwood and Blooming, and in 1885 he felt the group had sufficient strength to organize. This was accomplished in January 1886 with ten voters signing a constitution. Thus, Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church came into being. Immediately thought was turned to constructing a church building, for although afternoon services were still being held, the rented site was not adequate. After five years a building was constructed and dedicated.

Almost immediately after the founding of the new District, however, tragedy struck in the continued illness of Selle. He was compelled to travel east in 1888 for better medical care and died en route. Thus, the promising mission fields in eastern Oregon suffered. To relieve this need, President Buehler came up to Oregon in 1889 to take a firsthand look at the situation, with a view to calling another man into the western Oregon area. The previous year (1888) J. H. Theiss had traveled through the area to report to the Mission Board of the activity there. Candidate J. Ehlen was called to serve this area. Arriving in California that year, he was ordained by Buehler in St. Paulus and then went north to serve in the eastern area of the field.

Meanwhile, Ehlen, leaving Idaho for California for reasons of health, stopped in Tacoma, Wash., en route. Although it was evident that he had not intended to remain, on June 1, 1890, he preached to a small group of Lutherans there, and after the service nine men remained to organize and adopt a constitution for Zion Lutheran Church of that city. The following Sunday officers were elected, and the decision to call a man was reached. Candidate H. Haserodt was called and accepted, being ordained in St. Paulus, San Francisco, by Buehler in September. The next month he arrived, after also examining the Seattle area for mission possibilities. Ehlen, meanwhile, continued to California, was installed at Fresno, and died shortly thereafter. Thus, a man they had hoped to gain for the work in eastern Oregon again was called home by the Lord, but his groundwork paved the way for the first resident Missouri Synod pastor in the Puget Sound area.⁶⁶

Thus, notwithstanding the additions to the field, the total number remained almost constant. Claus had left the Sherwood-Blooming field to go to California, and H. A. C. Paul had been called to replace him. In addition, J. W. Theiss had accepted the call to serve a new congregation Doering had started in Portland. This parish lay on the east side of the Willamette River, in what

was called Albina. Doering began this work there in 1888, although it appears that a man by the name of Dietrich — an independent — had served among these people for a year or so previously. With the arrival of Theiss in 1889, the congregation ran into some difficulties, and a group withdrew. However, by the following fall, the group and Theiss were in a position to buy the church building from those who had remained, and the actual organization of Trinity, Portland, took place in December 1890.

In the meantime, Haserodt of Tacoma explored the territory wide about him, preaching in Seattle, Everett, Snohomish, Centralia, Chehalis, and other places. Since Ehlen had been forced to leave the eastern Oregon area because of his poor health, Candidate M. Baade, who was ordained by Buehler in 1890 at St. Paulus for work in the Sacramento area, went instead to the Puget Sound region, there initiating work in Seattle and organizing Trinity Church in 1890.⁶⁷

Thus, the work of the District was expanding. The third convention (the second had been held in 1889 at St. Paulus with Buehler as essayist and Schwan representing Synod) found marked improvement in the supply situation, although hardly enough for the need. The year 1890 saw the Northern Conference consisting of seven pastors. This small number brought about a continual shifting of forces to meet needs from place to place. The economic conditions which were gripping the nation during the end of Harrison's presidency and inception of Cleveland, also reached out into the Northwest, and many promising settlements had to be abandoned to meet changing conditions.⁶⁸

The year 1891 brought only one additional man to the Northwest, C. J. Heuer, who took up work in eastern Oregon, serving Pendleton and Warren. Southern Oregon had received a man to work in two parishes, Mount Angel and Salem, which Doering had been serving on a sporadic basis. G. Meyer was ordained and installed by Doering for this work in 1890. An industrious worker, he almost immediately organized a school and explored further south into the Grant's Pass and Medford area, where he began holding services. While Mount Angel was his home base, Meyer succeeded in establishing a solid organization in Medford, so that the following year, Candidate J. H. Witte was ordained by Buehler and sent to that area, in addition to serving the other towns to the south which Meyer had explored.

However, Sherwood felt strong enough to call a man of its

own (prior to this Paul had been serving it from Blooming), and Heuer left the eastern Oregon area in response to that call. Witte, in turn, was called to replace Theiss in Portland, who was forced to resign because of a throat condition. Thus, once more two growing areas were left without men to serve them so that established congregations might be served; this tragic condition prevailed to the degree that both areas (southern and eastern Oregon) have suffered to this present day.

A replacement for eastern work at Endicott, Wash., was found in Candidate F. Schoknecht, who in 1892 took up the work scattered about the entire area. This work at Endicott proved fruitful, developing into a fairly stable congregation and replacing Warren and Pendleton as the center of the work in the eastern part of the District. At the District convention of that year (the fourth convention), again in San Francisco at St. Paulus, Buehler planned to make a determined effort to survey more frequently the northern field. The difficulty of this was becoming increasingly evident, and agitation was being made for a separate District organization. Men had been coming into the District, but at a dribble, and rapid changes made the problem of serving such a wide area increasingly difficult. When it is considered that the area Buehler had to survey stretched from the northern to the southern boundary of the United States and east into Utah, Nevada, and portions of Montana, the demands made upon him and his devotion to these certainly paint an impressive picture.

In the years immediately following new fields were opened in eastern Washington with the coming in 1893 of F. Verwiebe to Spokane, Wash. There he began work which led to the founding of St. John's Congregation. In that same year Candidate W. Behrens introduced the Missouri Synod to Salt Lake City, an area just surveyed by Buehler. Both these men, however, were to leave these areas within the next two years, and the work was once more abandoned. In justice it must be said that in almost every instance a strong groundwork had been laid, and when there was a renewal of the work within a reasonable period, growth resulted from these origins. Snohomish, Wash., was organized in 1892, and was served by Baade from Seattle, and then later from Tacoma. It was to wait six years, however, before it could secure a resident Pastor.

The years 1895—97 saw only two new men enter the area. Candidate H. Hagist was called by the Mission Board to take up

work in Oregon, and he became the first resident Pastor in Salem. The work progressed, but difficulties resulting from a factional strife in the congregation left it unserved again in 1897 after the resignation of Hagist owing to illness. Rev. Th. Fleckenstein was called to replace J. Witte, who was forced to resign because of throat trouble. He was installed at Trinity, Portland, in 1897. Much of the slack during this period was due to the general economic conditions of the country as a whole. Thus, the needs of the Northwest once more could not be met.

The following year, 1898, brought four new candidates to the area in an endeavor to take up the slack caused by the previous years. Of these, however, only H. Ebeling, who went to Snohomish as its first resident pastor, could be classified as bringing a new spot into resident service. And even this was misleading, for he had to take over the Seattle and Everett work, which had previously been handled from Seattle by Baade. Candidates J. Duchow, A. Spleiss, and W. Lankow all filled vacancies in well-established congregations — Mount Angel, Sherwood, and Tacoma — thus simply maintaining the *status quo* without any increase in regular stations served.

Not only was the slow increase a consideration, but active work of other Lutheran groups in the Northwest was growing rapidly. In 1880 the Augustana Synod began an expansion of the Pacific Coast which resulted in the founding of the Pacific Conference in Tacoma in 1888, including at that time California.⁶⁹ With the concentration of effort in the Northwest, a Synod of the Northwest, comprising the Augustana group, was organized in St. Paul, Minn., in July 1891, consisting of seven congregations, and was admitted to the General Council in 1893.⁷⁰

The General Council also decided to push into the area, stressing English mission work. In 1888 G. H. Gerberding went out to the Northwest and canvassed the cities of Portland, Tacoma, and Seattle. Members of the General Synod were already in the area, but a loose agreement was worked out that declared the Northwest General Council territory, with the work in California being a sphere of influence overseen by the General Synod. This work eventually resulted in the formation of the Pacific Synod in 1901, superseding the above-mentioned Synod of the Northwest in the General Council.⁷¹

The Joint Synod of Ohio also organized on a district basis at this time, meeting at Tacoma in 1891 and forming a Pacific District comprising twelve pastors and one teacher. The following year

this became known as the Washington District.⁷² For a fuller picture of the Lutheran situation in the Northwest in this last decade of the nineteenth century, the table on page forty-four shows the weakness of the Missouri Synod work in an area into which it almost marched alone.

It would be an unfair judgment to attempt to lay blame on any specific factor. Without question the distance played an important role in slow development. Economic conditions within the synodical body and the lack of locally trained clergy contributed. But as these conditions improved, and the work in the Northwest continued at a slow pace with ever greater opportunities on every hand, the men who had spent a number of years in the territory were convinced that the only remedy would be a Mission Board and District management of their own. This conviction grew more pronounced, especially in the light of recurrent changes and lack of new supply and it crystallized into the form of a petition to Synod, requesting permission to organize a separate District.

This petition was brought before the Delegate Convention of that year, 1899, assembled in St. Louis at the end of April. The General Body conditionally sanctioned the founding of a new District within its synodical family, provided the California and Oregon District churches approved. A poll of these churches was undertaken, and the results were affirmative.⁷³ In pursuance of these resolutions, an organizational meeting was called for August of that year, which meeting was to be held at Zion Lutheran Church, Portland. The Northwest District was in the process of being born.

The Birth of a District

May this District, though small in number and weak in its resources, be ever conscious of its tremendous mission duties, and ever try to do justice to the obligations which this vast territory of these three states—Oregon, Washington, and Idaho—places upon it. — PRESIDENT H. A. C. PAUL.⁷⁴

On Wednesday evening, August 23, 1899, nine pastors, one teacher, and six lay delegates from the states of Oregon and Washington met in Zion Lutheran Church, Portland, for the opening service of the initial convention of the Oregon and Washington District. President Francis Pieper of the Missouri Synod delivered the festival address, basing his message on Acts 15:1-6.⁷⁵ President J. M. Buehler of the California and Nevada District was there to open the sessions and to deliver the convention essay, "Die Ausbreitung des Reiches Gottes die hoechste und koestlichste Aufgabe der rechthglaeubigen evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche."⁷⁶ Organiza-

tion immediately took place, Rev. H. A. C. Paul of St. Peter's, Blooming, Oreg., being elected President of the new District. The words at the head of this chapter are taken in part from his address to the gathering at that time.

Mission-mindedness was the keynote of this first convention, and the welcoming words of President Paul echo throughout the entire proceedings. A lengthy discussion was undertaken concerning the best means of accomplishing the goals demanded in so great a territory,⁷⁷ and two afternoon sessions were devoted to the reports of all the various men in the field, as no Mission Committee had been set up at that time. At the conclusion of these reports, the group urged the immediate calling of a man for the Seattle area, and also Camas Prairie, and decided that the Spokane area of Washington deserved the next consideration.⁷⁸

Immediately the question of financing came up. The funds from the sale of the property which Rev. Fridrichsen had bequeathed the District for mission work were to be applied to this work.⁷⁹ A proper division of these funds was to be made between the California and Nevada District and their own. A mission committee was established; this was to consist of two laymen, two pastors, and the President of the District. The first Mission Board of the Oregon and Washington District included Mr. Theo. Schulze, Mr. H. C. Ditrich, Rev. W. H. Behrens, Rev. Theo. Fleckenstein, and President H. A. C. Paul.⁸⁰

After a discussion of the mutual problems of the two Pacific Coast Districts, a resolution for joint study of these problems was passed, so that they might best fulfill the obligation of Synod at large. Dr. Pieper closed the first convention with prayer, after which the delegates sang "Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade."

With the District organization accomplished, the men returned to their fields with the confidence that now the Northwest would receive the emphasis long due. The heart of the work lay again in the *Reiseprediger* Ed. Doering, who for the next twenty years traveled throughout the region conducting services. At first the conditions were quite difficult. In a postal card sent District President W. Luessenhop on October 22, 1902, we get an idea of the conditions under which Doering worked:

That you might have some idea as to where I now am, this report that I am eighty miles from the railroad, in the vicinity, that is, a day's journey from Klamath Falls, Klamath County, Oregon. Have about twenty families to visit, which will take about twelve to fourteen days. Have a horse and "cart" with which I now sail about; now if I don't

get caught in the mountain peaks or in the trees, and also don't get stuck in the snow, which is already peeking down from the mountains, then will probably return to civilization.⁸¹

The problem of funds for these trips was always present. The monetary expenditures seem slight, but as the following report of Doering to the board shows, the available funds did not always even meet the slight demands:

The traveling expense incurred as a result of Pastor Paul's installation should most likely be paid out of the synodical (i. e., District) treasury. If I return the \$3.00 which Pastor Paul advanced to me before I went to Grass Valley, there will be a deficit of ten cents in the fund. Not much traveling can be done on that. Therefore, please make out an "order" to the treasurer for a check for \$50.00: \$10.00 for traveling expenses and \$40.00 for salary. He can send me a check; I think I will be able to cash it.⁸²

It was in just such a day-to-day struggle that Doering existed throughout his years of circuit-riding. He especially concentrated his efforts on the rural scene, visiting individual homes, making contacts in the isolated areas. In many places this led to the establishment of congregations; elsewhere it simply served the scattered families who otherwise would not have been touched by the church. In general, he attempted always to instruct and establish, but too frequently this became impossible. Doering was a careful chronicler of his work and sent these reports to the Mission Board. The forming of the District solved many problems for the region's mission endeavors, but it was not able to cut down the distances between the stations. How these distances were covered was not so much left to individual taste, as to plain necessity. We would draw once more from the Mission Board reports of Doering to use this one trip as an example of the work he did, year in, year out, for forty years:

As I begin to write a report on my missionary journeys, I shall follow the notations as they appear in my journal. On Wednesday evening, January 22 [1902], I departed from Portland and arrived in Latah [this trip took him into Washington] on the morning of the twenty-third. There I met a family by the name of Haering, which years ago belonged to Pastor Hoelter's congregation, Chicago, and more recently in Nebraska under a pastor of the Iowa Synod. These are people with whom I can stay and where there is still a desire for church. Visited Farmer Glindenmann of Holstein, who has lived here three years, came from San Francisco, six children, three of whom should be instructed. From there I went to a family by the name of Koehler, moved here last summer from Nebraska; no property as yet, do not know if they can remain here, would have five children to send

to school, ten children in the family. The man has a Bible, encouraged him to read it diligently, no hymnbook. From here I went to Mr. August Brinken, big farmer, here eighteen years, of Holstein, family of five boys. Stayed here overnight.

January 24 — Friday, snowstorm, could not get out. Instructed the children.

January 25 — Visited several families and announced that a service would be conducted in the schoolhouse on Sunday.

January 26 — Sunday, held service; attendance: ten adults, eight children.

January 27 — Monday, traveled on foot. Visited Kingbaum, Uncle Brinken, Dan, Hannoverian, not yet belonging to any congregation, promised to come to Latah. Then I came to Laitz, Pliesner, Lucksdorf, Zierk, Louis Buenger, Bungler Steen. These people are mostly Holsteiner and are being served by Pastor Bertram of the Ohio Synod every four weeks. Stayed with Steen overnight.

January 28 — Tuesday. Left Bertram's territory and went toward Rosalie, twelve miles away. Ate dinner with August Miller, Evangelical, had a lengthy discussion on conversion, Lord's Supper, and absolution. In the evening I arrived at Rosalie. Here there is a German Methodist church and congregation. An Evangelical pastor is also stationed here for the area.

January 29 — In the morning I did find a Lutheran, Karl Hussman, of Darmstadt, who said that there were supposed to be some Lutherans living six miles from here. He gave me several names, and I was on my way to look them up. And I found four Lutheran families from Wuerttemberg. In the Schlotz family there are three girls, twenty-one, nineteen, and sixteen years of age, who should be instructed. At the father's request I asked them: "Of what faith are you?" no answer. Then I thought: How shall they know anything about that of which they have not heard and learned? Then I spoke to them about Baptism, explained to them what God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost had done for them. I also instructed them in reading. That was on January 30.

January 31 — Instruction in the morning; service after dinner. After that service, Mr. Schlotz drove me to the Thornton station in his sled. Here I learned that the train, if on time, came through at 3:00 A. M., but the train was late. I was at the depot at four-thirty and had to wait until five-thirty in the icy cold, ten degrees below zero. That was pretty much for an Oregonian.

February 1 — Returned safely to Latah, made several calls in town.

February 2 — Sunday. Still very cold. Preached in the Methodist church to seven persons. Sunday evening I traveled to Spokane, arrived at Pastor Paul's at seven-thirty, preached at 8 P. M. to twelve persons.

February 3 — Day of rest. Read *Lutheraner* and *Rundschau*.

February 4 — Went to Medical Lake. Arrived at Mr. Krahn's at five in the afternoon, but the people were disturbed by my appearance on the scene, since a pastor of the Ohio Synod had already come earlier. I stayed overnight anyway, and in the conversation we became quite intimate, but this thought alone forced itself upon them that I had come four weeks too late.

February 5 — Wednesday. Visited Fuhrmann, Tesch, Tahnke, Stein. Three families moved here in the fall from one of our congregations in Minnesota. I considered it my duty to win the people back and preached to them on Thursday in the schoolhouse. After the service we spoke about regular church services, and it became evident that the people had promised in writing that the Ohioan could serve them. Since I had my doubts about this matter, and also because the people are interrelated, I wanted to speak to President Paul about it, and therefore did not promise the people definitely whether I would come again or not.

February 7 — Friday. I returned to Spokane. President Paul was of the opinion that Medical Lake should not be given up so quickly, and it was decided to hold a service in Medical Lake on Sunday, the sixteenth. The necessary announcement was made in accordance with this.

February 8 — Saturday. Trip to Odessa, city of the Russians. Here almost everything is German. Our people live twelve miles south of here; they have founded a congregation; six members have joined, three have announced their intention of joining, still others want to come from the East. As soon as the Ohioans heard that a school was to be built, they began to hold their services nearby in a school house. Ohio is always right on the spot, they have their "pioneers" stationed everywhere. The Mission Board is certainly not familiar with the importance of this field. Therefore I shall describe it a bit. The so-called "Big Bend" is a district unequalled. [Refers to the loop of the Columbia River in north central and western Washington.] The prairie extends about 150 miles long, 150 miles wide, and is covered partly with bunchgrass, partly with sage brush. Since people have discovered that the soil is exceptionally good for the raising of wheat the farmers are moving here from cold Minnesota and Dakota; yes, they are coming by the hundreds to establish homes here. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that help be given to the congregation at Odessa to obtain a pastor who can gather and serve our people.

February 9 — Sunday. I held a real Missourian service in this congregation. The people desire very much to be served with preaching every three weeks, but I could not promise them that, however, did promise to come on Good Friday. It was decided to have services on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. Reading services are held every Sunday. These people deserve to be helped. There are twenty children for school.

February 10 — Monday. I rode westward to Wilson Creek. As I arrived there, I found half the town under water. The creek had overflowed; I rode out into the country on a boat, for which the brave boat-

man demanded his "nickel." I was told that a year ago only one hut stood here, now over fifty houses have been built, three hotels, stores, a bank, even a newspaper office, two schools and the like. The roads are practically impassable, the snow is beginning to become soft, the "coulees" [ravines] are running full of snow water. On Tuesday I found an opportunity to ride in the direction of a German settlement. I rode along, but still had to walk two miles and then found the Germans. They moved here last fall from Minnesota, but are Evangelical and are being served every two weeks. I met one young man here who comes from Pastor Ude's congregation and had bought property here. His brother-in-law, from the same congregation, is coming in March, has also bought land; others are also coming. Here is another place where Lutherans could be gathered.

Wilson Creek, thirty miles from Odessa, could be served together with Odessa. How things will develop there, the future must tell. The Lutheran who is there knows that we want to serve them as soon as the people from the East arrive.

From here I rode to Hartline on the Northern Pacific, twenty miles north of Wilson Creek. The land is all farm land and is open to settlers. Since the roads are impassable, I could not undertake an expedition and returned by train to Medical Lake, where services had been announced for Sunday, February 16. The service was held, but only six persons came. The people have decided to permit themselves to be served by Ohio. So also this place has been lost to Ohio. Too bad!

Even though I could not report any great results, this report nevertheless shows how constantly necessary it is that an itinerant preacher visit the places where there is a prospect that more families will gather.

Odessa absolutely must be provided with a minister.

Since there is now a vacancy at Endicott and the confirmation instruction which had already been begun should be concluded, I shall go there and finish it.

Most respectfully,

Your humble servant of the Word,

(signed) Ed Doering⁸³

Together with this report came an expense account for this trip. The total cost was twelve dollars and twenty cents. Doering noted that he received ten dollars from Treasurer Beiersdorfer. In addition, he received two dollars and twenty-five cents from offerings. Thus he managed to come out a nickel ahead at the end of the month's labor.

But the work of the church was not simply to hop from place to place in the hope that eventually a group would be organized. While Doering continued to scour and serve the back country, the District began to enlarge on its settled areas. Seattle, which Rev. H. C. Ebeling had been serving from Snohomish, received its own resident

missionary, Rev. H. Bohl, in 1900. By 1901 the congregation gained sufficient strength to organize and the following year erected a building.

The concern of the Mission Board for eastern Washington was met with District President H. A. C. Paul's acceptance of the call to the Spokane area, also in 1900. In the same year St. John's Congregation of that city was organized.

The last of the places considered most vital by the first mission discussions, Camas Prairie (Idaho — areas of Grangeville, Denver, and Lowe are all included usually in early references to this region) received a man in 1900, Candidate William Koss. In addition, the services of several students were used in work in this section of Idaho. Unfortunately it was to be several more years before even a congregation could be organized and buildings erected.

However, the challenge of missions was being met. Five new men were added to the District roster at the 1901 convention (the second), three of them going as resident pastors in new fields. But this was simply meeting the most urgent needs. More men were needed. But at the convention disheartening words in this line came from President F. Pieper of Synod. He reported there was a lack of ministerial and teacher candidates and that this lack would be more pronounced in the next year. Therefore he suggested to the District that as many young men as possible be sent to our institutions. But since the distance from this coast to the East is so great and experience teaches that few boys are sent so far, he recommended that the young people receive their first training here in the Northwest.⁸⁴ This sowed the seeds for the eventual founding of the Northwest's own training school, Concordia College of Portland. A school committee was also set up at this convention to further the cause of Christian education in the District.

During the succeeding years more men entered the District, and at the end of the fifth year of its existence there was a growth of almost 150 per cent over the initial group. Among these was W. Luessenhop, who accepted a call to Trinity, Portland, in 1901. A pastor writes of him:

He was well versed in all branches of theological knowledge, eminent also for general learning, capable of an impressive display in the use of language, a logician and brilliant debater, a man with a lofty mien and a rare gift of discernment.⁸⁵

It is no surprise, then, that he was the second President of the District, elected at the third convention held at Blooming, Oreg., in

1902.⁸⁶ The Mission Board was comprised of almost an entirely new group, and the emphasis on Christian education as the foundation of a solid Lutheran congregation in the mission areas took predominance. Work was begun in central Washington, covering the areas mentioned by Doering in the report printed earlier. Yakima, Odessa, Menno, all were new additions to the District, being served regularly. But there was a darker side too. A number of promising areas were lost to other Lutheran groups through competition. Both Iowa and Ohio were becoming more active in their work in these parts, and losses to these groups were suffered. Additional manpower in the form of students was used extensively, but still the needs of the promising areas were not being met. The tables at the end of this chapter illustrate the growth of the District, and while there was disillusionment frequently, the expansion remained constant.

The demands for a college and locally trained men continued to press upon the District. The California and Nevada District also saw the urgency of local training, and for some time the two attempted a joint effort. This was not accomplished, but in the diversity of minds there grew the multiplicity of action; two schools Concordia College, Portland, opening its doors in the fall of 1905, with F. W. J. Sylwester as director and professor, and California Concordia College, Oakland, opening the following year.

President Luessenhop had left the District, returning to the East, and W. H. Behrens of Portland was his successor. While not the dynamic personality his predecessor was, he nevertheless was a gifted theologian and capable leader. New faces were continually appearing in the District now, and new fields were finally receiving their due consideration. Northern Washington was opened with work in Havillah and surrounding areas. The upper reaches of Puget Sound, Bellingham and environs, which had been served from Everett and Seattle, received a resident man, and the work in Idaho was pushed, particularly in the south. There, work at Payette led to other surrounding areas: New Plymouth and Twin Falls. Although it was small, it still marked progress in meeting the possibilities of a developing fruitful farm country. And in the far east of Idaho, Squirrel, the mother congregation of Ashton, was served regularly by Rev. H. A. C. Meyer, who also did much of the preliminary exploring in the other Idaho parishes.

Nearly every man in the field at this time was also an "explorer." His job was to develop new areas as well as serve the

station he was called to. Typical of this work is a report in 1902 by a missionary:

I find people everywhere, Germans, former Lutherans, backsliders, doubters, distressed and spiritually indifferent. The soil is hard, very hard. Everywhere I find a desire to instruct the children. The people would be glad to entrust their children to me for instruction.

I was sent out as "explorer." Here you have the results of my investigation. Now what? Is it enough or not? Shall I go still farther, investigate still more territory? If the Mission Board can reach the decision to provide instruction in religion for the children, I could, on my second trip, take the names of the children who desire instruction. Naturally, we then also have the responsibility to continue to care for the spiritual welfare of the children who have been instructed. If we on our part wish to prevent the Germans from returning to heathenism, then we must instruct the children, the baptized children. That is certainly also mission work. Don't be frightened by the expense, don't be afraid of what it all might cost.⁸⁷

Pressing needs always evident, responsibility to follow up and consolidate the work begun, mission-minded conception of cost, all these factors weighed heavy on the hearts and minds of the men as these first years wore on.

The new demands of growth brought changes in District administration. Formerly the District President and Vice-President had been Visitors at large *ex officio*. The convention at Sherwood in 1906 created three circuits, an Oregon, and East Washington, and West Washington Circuit.⁸⁸ The Indigent Student Fund, created in 1903, and the Church Extension Fund were transferred to independent committees from the Mission Board at this time also.⁸⁹

New faces continued to appear, and changes during the next years multiplied. Fields such as Kennewick, Wash., Twin Falls, Idaho, and Schefflin (Cornelius), Oreg., were organizing and calling men. Another congregation had been started in Portland, Immanuel, on the east side of the river in an area known as Sellwood. Concordia College had acquired the services of an additional instructor, Vicar Lorenz Blankenbuehler of the St. Louis Seminary, and the full four-year academy program was completed as well as occupancy in their own building. The capital of Washington, Olympia, organized a congregation in 1908 through the efforts of the Tacoma congregation. This congregation in turn pushed the work into the Olympic Peninsula. The eastern Washington area, which had been hard put early in the District's history owing to the shortage of men, also expanded with the organization of a congregation at Walla Walla.

At the 1907 convention of the District it was resolved to organize officially, incorporating the District. This was carried out, with the name chosen: "Oregon- und Washington-Distrikt der deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten."⁹⁰ Southern Oregon also came into serious consideration again at this time. In 1905 a man had been placed there, George Engel, and work progressed rapidly. However, in a few years the pressure of the work wore away his health, and he was forced to resign. It was decided to have Doering serve this territory again until a man could be placed there, which was finally done in 1911, with the coming of F. Zehe.

A District President was also lost again, W. H. Behrens accepting a call to Chester, Ill., and later to the faculty of Concordia Seminary at Springfield. L. Stuebe of Blooming was elected to succeed him, and it fell to him to guide the District through the difficult war years which were approaching. During the first years of his presidency all the geo-political factors favored expansion in every direction. While a "country pastor" at heart, he nonetheless was in contact with the expanding needs of the District in every direction and exerted strong leadership.

With the coming of World War I in 1914 the pressure of the German-language problem was being brought into sharp focus. Although in a sense far removed from the more war-centered areas of this country, industrial and otherwise, the anti-German feeling was evident. In instances the language barrier was carried into the courts in one way or another, so that one veteran of those days reported of a case before a judge in which this issue arose, and which led the judge to declaim forcefully: "If a German battleship steamed up the Columbia and docked at Portland, whose side would you be on?" It might not have been a practical consideration, war-wise, but such events brought times of crisis to the work of the church.

But growth continued. Idaho organized four more parishes, Rupert, Idaho Falls, Nampa, and Buhl. Southern Oregon added a congregation at Lebanon, and in Washington Chehalis and Centralia, formerly independent congregations, joined the District along with Wenatchee, a preaching station, and were officially organized. Slower progress, to be sure, but the trying times not only affected the fields, but also the supply of men.

The world was rapidly being torn apart in the expanding ravages of a war that threatened to engulf almost every nation. Industry

was mobilizing, the Northwest was developing with this industrialization, and the focus was turning from the rural to the urban scene. All this, together with the language problem, had a natural effect on the growth of the church. Progress was slower at this time than either before or after. But though these were painful years, they brought with them a redirection of efforts which was to result in even greater expansion in the decades to come.

War and Peace

At our last two conventions I deemed it necessary to call your attention to the extraordinary conditions surrounding us. The scene has been changed. The World War has not come to an end, it still causes the whole creation to groan and travail in pain together until now; but we have been engulfed. What a change!

PRESIDENT L. STUEBE⁹¹

The war had drawn the United States into active participation in April 1917. While the struggle was in the main confined to Europe, the increased lines of communication, the industrial growth of the Pacific Coast, and the completion of the Panama Canal all brought the Pacific Northwest into closer proximity than the actual distance would give appearance. As the war had progressed in its early years (1914—1916), an antipathy to everything that was German developed; this naturally had its reaction among our congregations where the language was almost universally German. In addition, the development of war industry was taking a goodly portion of the young people away from the rural areas and leading them to the industrial centers.

In 1917 the Delegate Synod met in Milwaukee. The following year the thirteenth convention of the District met at Tacoma, Wash. For the first time in the history of the District the entire sessions were conducted in the English language. President Stuebe explained the conditions demanding this, and the convention fully approved. The words heading this chapter are his concluding remarks on the situation. The unanimous approval, however, did not prevent an uneasy attitude and nervous tension from being present. Each felt that this was not a one-time occurrence, but that this was the coming condition. The sudden change from their accustomed language, the bond which had kept church and family together in many individual's thinking, left them in a state of verbal frustration that was not easily overcome.

Without question, however, this language transition, though

forced, was a distinct blessing to the District. It may not have been recognized at the time, but Rev. F. Schoknecht, one of the pioneer pastors (1893) who spent almost his entire ministry in the District, wrote in the District *Messenger* in April 1929:

If the Lutheran Church owes a special debt of gratitude to any of our later Presidents, it is Woodrow Wilson. No matter what attitude one holds over against his policies, this remains an undeniable fact that under his management of affairs the Lutheran Church above others, in its German, Norwegian, Swedish, and other branches, was liberated from its foreign-language captivity, a bondage which crippled the mission work also of this District for many years.

Now, at last, we have Christian schools doing justice to the inheritance of American children, by teaching them the creed and prayers in their language, and our services are open to wider circles. . . . The sword cut the Gordian knot which educators had vainly tried to untie in the years before the war.⁹²

At the 1919 convention, however, the majority of the business was conducted in German, although there were some English reports. It was claimed that so sudden a shift of language for the majority of the men had hampered understanding and, likewise, their presentation of their thoughts.⁹³ From the convention of 1918 on, however, more and more English was employed until the gradual evolution into its complete usage was accomplished.

Already in 1913 the proposal of the Mission Board to employ a full-time Director of Missions had been presented to the convention, but was voted down.⁹⁴ In 1918 it was reintroduced, and this time the District went along with the resolution. It was not until 1920, however, that a call was issued, and the services of Rev. W. F. Georg were secured.

Just as the missionary efforts of Buehler had dominated the work at first on the coast, and then the labors of Doering in the Northwest, so the concern of missions now finds its personification in the work of Pastor Georg. A pastor in the rural areas of Iowa, he had been called to the presidency of Bethany College, Mankato, Minn., in 1912. In 1917, however, the college was closed because of the war, and Rev. Georg helped organize the National Lutheran Education Society and solicited funds for educational purposes during the next two years. It was at this time that he received and accepted the call proffered by the Mission Board to become Superintendent of Missions for the District.

The duties of this position were at first loosely defined, and reached final formulation some years later as follows:

. . . visit all mission places; to serve temporarily vacant fields; to advise

the Mission Board in calling missionaries for the various fields; to attend the meetings of the Mission Board; to present the missions and their needs in self-supporting congregations; to attend the various conferences as far as possible; to be the official Visitor of the missionaries; and to be under the direction of, and to be responsible to, the Mission Board.⁹⁵

To this was appended the somewhat superfluous note, "to start new fields."⁹⁶ His arrival in the District in 1920 was to introduce an era of thirty years' service in the Northwest, culminating in his death in October 1950. During this time he served as Superintendent of Missions until 1948, when the office was abolished, its functions having been taken over by the Executive Secretary.⁹⁷

Rev. Georg himself recalls the following at the time he was considering the call at the convention of the General Synod in Detroit in 1920:

It seems that my friend, with whom I had an interview, did not get a very good impression of me, because of my corporal physique. After his return from the convention he made the remark to an official of the District: "I think we made a mistake in calling Rev. Georg." When asked why, he answered, "He's too heavy — he cannot get around."⁹⁸

This prediction did not hold true. In reviewing his work at the time he retired from the office of Mission Director, the following statistics were made known. He had laid hands on sixty-eight pastors. He had traveled over one million miles by train alone, not to mention other means of transportation. Seventeen congregations and missions were begun by him personally. In addition, the regular work of a parish minister was present in that he averaged seventy-two sermons a year and approximately two hundred and forty pastoral and mission visits.⁹⁹ An enviable record for a man who was too rotund "to get around."

Summing up his efforts, former District President Weert Janssen observed:

Much of the credit for the great increase in our District, increase in the number of pastors, church buildings, parsonages, is due under God to Rev. Georg, who has been Superintendent of Missions for thirty years. He spent most of his time not in superintending missions, but in starting them and strengthening them. He was not interested in anything but missions. He talked about nothing but missions. He spent many a night in depots and on trains, sitting up while we were asleep. When the depression came, he reduced his own salary. His home was always open to everyone. Yes, Rev. Georg "roughed it for Christ" in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.¹⁰⁰

The missionary outlook which dominated the first convention of

the District was still the keynote of the labors, and it took its lead now in the person and office of the Director of Missions.

The arrival of Rev. Georg marked a change in the policy of mission work. Pioneer conditions were passing. Doering, outside of Portland, had centered his attention more upon the country settlements. But the field was too large now for systematic visits of any frequency to single families. Georg carried out the policy emphasized by the District convention which called him, and set his sights on the cities. The last horse "resigned from the mission service of our church in this state in Mount Angel in the spring of 1922," writes Rev. Zehe in the *Messenger*.¹⁰¹ That year the District resolved to pay three hundred dollars toward the purchase of a car by a missionary. The automotive age had arrived.

In keeping with improving the conditions of the missionaries, the Board had raised the salary from fifty to fifty-five dollars a month in 1918. The District convention of the next year upped the minimum to eighty dollars, a liberal figure for the times. At the same convention the question of stressing the school as well as the teaching of English was brought up once more. The attitude was best expressed in this abridged quote:

It would be questionable wisdom to return to teaching religion in German. Our children are thinking in the English language. . . . The Word of God is for daily use.¹⁰²

Also the Mission Board reported on the importance of institutional work. It was decided to grant a leave of absence from his congregation to some minister so that he could give his time to this work and test its potential. But no one could be obtained. After a year had gone by without finding anyone, this work was added to the duties of the new Director of Missions.¹⁰³ To do such work with any thoroughness would obviously be impossible for a man burdened with so much responsibility already; but at least the institutions received more attention than had heretofore been given them. Georg continued to serve them sporadically for the next years, assisted wherever possible by the nearest pastor.

If we would characterize the last decade as one of difficulties, the twenties were certainly years of expansion. Rev. J. A. Rimbach of Trinity, Portland, was elected President in 1918 and introduced this new era. Well acquainted with the demands of the District, having served in various offices for the twelve years previous, he led the work into the twenties. For reasons of health, however, he felt constrained to refuse re-election, and Rev. Weert Janssen of Yakima, Wash., was elected to the office in 1921.

Under his leadership the District met two crises which occupied the foreground at this time. The one centered about a church discipline problem at Grace Church in Portland. This congregation had originally been formed as a result of a class of adults which Rev. Rimbach of Trinity had instructed and confirmed in English. To meet their needs for English services, offered only occasionally at this time, they organized a congregation in 1909, using the facilities of Trinity for worship. For the next ten years they were served by several men, each man coming after an extended vacancy. Nevertheless, the membership grew, and property was acquired. In 1919 they called Rev. C. H. Bernhard, and rapid growth was experienced. At the same time they achieved self-supporting status.

In 1921, however, a quarrel arose which was to lead to the congregation's eventual separation from the Missouri Synod. A few ladies in the congregation had been taken up for admonition, and then for church discipline. They were cited before the congregation and did not appear. Instead, a protest was lodged before the congregation. The case was appealed to the Visitor of the circuit, but remained unsettled, and from 1921 on remained in continuous dispute. At the succeeding District convention it was taken up, as well as brought to the attention of the President of the general body, Dr. F. Pfothenhauer. Visitations, committee studies, and personal appeals were made throughout the ensuing years without effect. Pastors became personally involved in the issues, and the matter became a veritable mountain, far out of proportion to its beginnings. Finally, in 1927, the District convention resolved that

Grace Church acted hastily and wrongfully in excommunicating the ladies and thereby invalidated the excommunication; and we plead with Grace Congregation to correct its erring view on this.¹⁰⁴

President Janssen once more attempted to deal with the group, but to no avail, so that the 1929 convention resolved to sever its relations with the offending congregation "until it sees its error."¹⁰⁵ An appeal to this decision was carried to Synod by Rev. J. Duchow of Havillah, Wash., who had espoused the cause of Grace Church, but the general body upheld the District decision.

Bernhard, meanwhile, was forced to resign because of illness, and the congregation voted to affiliate with the Wisconsin Synod, which accepted them and supplied them with a pastor. No reconciliation has been effected.¹⁰⁶

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Who Are They?

The Institute has a considerable collection of photographs which have not been identified. From time to time some of these have appeared on the pages of the QUARTERLY. If any of our readers are in a position to identify either of the two persons pictured here, we would be most grateful.



The only identification we have on these photographs is that the one on the left was photographed by Strauss of St. Louis in 1892 and that the one on the right was photographed by Hammer, also of St. Louis.

Sketch of the Life of Lydia Buenger Keller

By CHARLES WIND

On March 1, 1955, at the Ingalls Memorial Hospital of Harvey, Ill., one of the last survivors of early St. Louis Lutheranism, and the last surviving daughter of a founder of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, passed away. Her name was Mrs. Lydia Keller.

Mrs. Keller was born Lydia Johanna Marie Buenger on November 4, 1857, in St. Louis, Mo., the third child of the Rev. Johann Friedrich Buenger and Johanna, nee Reissner. Her father was for thirty-five years pastor of Immanuel Church in St. Louis. Together with Theodore Brohm and Ottomar Fuerbringer, he had built the log cabin Seminary in Perry County, Mo., in 1839, and had served as one of its first instructors. He is also remembered as the father of charitable work in the Missouri Synod, having founded the Lutheran Hospital and the Altenheim in St. Louis and the orphan home at Des Peres, Mo. Rev. Buenger was also instrumental in establishing several other congregations as well as a Negro mission in the St. Louis area.



Mrs. Lydia Keller

On November 8, 1857, when four days old, Lydia was baptized by her father in Immanuel Church. As a child, she attended Immanuel's parochial school, and on April 7, 1872, her father confirmed her. She then entered Immanuel Academy, one of the first Lutheran high schools in the United States, and studied there for a number of years. In those early days it was very unusual for a girl to go to high school, and Mrs. Keller in later years enjoyed telling of her high school experiences. She was especially fond of her science teacher, J. W. Albach.

These early years were interesting and busy ones for Lydia Buenger. Her parents were known for their hospitality, especially to families newly arrived from Germany. It was not at all uncommon for her father to invite these families into the Buenger home, often for weeks at a time, until they could find a place of their own. Somehow Lydia's mother was able to manage, although she had three children of her own, besides Lydia: Katherine Coelestine, Agnes, and Monica Reissner, an adopted niece.

As the Buengers had many relatives in St. Louis and in Perry County, there often were family parties. The family especially looked forward to the annual birthday celebration of Dr. C. F. W. Walther, who had married her father's oldest sister.

It was often Lydia's job, as a girl in her teens, to act as courier between her father and Dr. Walther. Sometimes her father had to consult his brother-in-law on congregational matters. As there were as yet no telephones, and the Buengers lived in North St. Louis, while the Walthers resided in the southern part of the city, Lydia was usually asked to carry messages to her uncle after school. In her later years Mrs. Keller enjoyed telling how, after her task was completed, she would go to the Seminary nearby to see whether some gallant student would escort her home on the horsecar in the evening hours.

On June 5, 1884, Lydia Buenger was married to the Rev. Carl F. Keller, at Holy Cross Church in St. Louis. The bride's uncle Dr. Walther performed the ceremony. The newlyweds set up house-keeping in Thornton, Ill., where Rev. Keller was pastor of St. Paul's Church. Four children were born to them there: Agnes, Carl, Martin, and Lydia. In 1906, her husband accepted a call to Strasburg, Ill. He was pastor there for the remaining sixteen years of his active ministry. Upon his retirement in 1922 he and Mrs. Keller moved to Riverdale, Ill., a suburb of Chicago. After more than forty-five years of married life her husband passed away on February 14, 1930, in Riverdale.

Mrs. Keller survived her husband by twenty-five years. During this time she made her home with her youngest daughter, Lydia, in Riverdale. Until well past ninety, she remained active and alert, amazing all who knew her with her vitality and interest in life.

On February 7, 1955, she fell in her home, breaking her hip. The Lord released her from all suffering three weeks later, in a peaceful death on March 1 at the age of 97 years, 3 months, and 25 days. Four children (Mrs. Agnes Schmidt, Miss Lydia, Carl, and Rev. Martin), three grandchildren, and six great-grandchildren survive her. Two of her descendants, a son and a grandson, have entered the service of the church.

On March 4, 1955, funeral services were held at St. Paul's Church, Dolton, Ill., where Mrs. Keller had been a member for many years. She lies buried in Concordia Lutheran Cemetery, Hammond, Ind., beside her husband and a sister, Mrs. Agnes Buenger Wind, there to await the glorious resurrection.

The Concordia Historical Institute's Report to the Lutheran Laymen's League on the Project of Microfilming Historical Materials

EDITOR'S NOTE: In its 1954 convention the Lutheran Laymen's League made \$1,500 available to the Concordia Historical Institute to microfilm rare manuscripts, records, and periodicals pertaining to American Lutheranism. As the following report indicates, the major emphasis for this initial subsidy has been placed on microfilming periodicals of the Lutheran Church in America. The report, prepared for the Lutheran Laymen's League, is made available to the reader of the *QUARTERLY* as a progress report on this very important undertaking. We are pleased to state that at its Seattle convention this summer the Lutheran Laymen's League has authorized a grant of \$1,200 to continue this microfilming. The resolution which authorizes the grant also includes a provision that in future the board of directors give consideration to the needs of this project and continue to make reasonable grants in conformity with the needs of the institute and the over-all program of the Lutheran Laymen's League. This assistance is of far-reaching importance to the institute in making it a center of documentary material for the study of the Lutheran Church in America.

By October 1, 1954, the Lutheran Layman's League made money available to the Concordia Historical Institute to be expended in the project of microfilming important historical documents and periodicals pertaining to the Lutheran Church in America. Various approaches in undertaking this project could have been used. We could have personally traveled to the East Coast depositories (Gettysburg, Washington, New York, etc.) to ferret out the materials at random. However, it was our studied opinion that a conservative long-range systematic approach would be far wiser and more beneficial.

Our first task in such a long-range program was to produce a list of all Lutheran periodicals which appeared during the early history of the Lutheran Church in America. Mr. Williard Mueller, a fourth-year Seminary student, was immediately engaged to do the necessary research work in order to compile such a list. Thus the project actually began from scratch, and Mr. Mueller applied himself assiduously to the task of gathering not only the titles of periodicals but also the date of publication of volume 1, number 1, the first editor, the place of publication, the purpose of the magazine, the name of the agency or Synod which sponsored the periodical, and finally also the terminal date or the date of merger with some other periodical. This was no mean task, since it had to be charted through virgin territory. Secondary sources on the Lutheran Church in America were used primarily; and wherever these did not yield the necessary information, primary sources were resorted to. Finally, after several months of such intensive research, a list of Lutheran periodicals has now been compiled. This list, undoubtedly

the most complete one available at the present time, contains 262 titles. Gaps were then filled in, and additional data, if necessary, as well as a list of depositories in possession of these periodicals, were gathered.

Screening

This task completed, the entire list was given very close scrutiny, and a select group of periodicals was singled out for further study and possible filming. This was done, first of all, on the basis of language. In most cases only the German titles and a few English periodicals were selected. At present the Scandinavian periodicals have been excluded, primarily because the German and English periodicals are more beneficial to the researcher within The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Eventually the Scandinavian periodicals might also be included in such a project.

Our selection was furthermore determined by the titles which had previously been chosen for microfilming by the Chicago University group which has entitled its project the *Corpus Lutheranicum*. We tried (1) to avoid duplication, since we already had subscribed to the films produced by the *Corpus Lutheranicum*, and (2) we tried to keep the cost down. Thus English periodicals appearing before 1840 were also excluded.

The next criterion by which we made our selections is the pertinency of the periodical to Missouri Synod history? We evaluated a total of 52 out of 262 periodicals as highly important for the Missouri Synod research library. This list was again carefully screened. Furthermore, it was found that about ten to fifteen of these 52 periodicals no longer seemed to be extant. Thus negotiations are now under way to film approximately 25 periodicals. It is hoped, however, that eventually the other periodicals will also be made available on film to the researcher.

Difficulties

We have been moving slowly in this project because our primary concern has been to keep the cost at a bare minimum. Therefore we attempted first to obtain duplicates of the most desirable periodicals. A few duplicate periodicals were promised us in exchange for Missouri Synod publications, and thus, of course, those titles have been eliminated from the project.

A second difficulty sprang from the *Corpus Lutheranicum* project, begun about two years ago. This project had initially planned to microfilm all English works of Lutheranism in America, begin-

ning with the very first *The Little Olive Leaf*, published from 1704 to 1854. The material was to appear in five units; the first to contain the early books, pamphlets, and periodicals through 1801. Unit 2 is to contain books and pamphlets from 1802 to 1827. Units 3 and 4 are to contain the *Lutheran Observer* from 1831 to 1851 and may be ready for filming shortly. Unit 5 is to contain the early synodical reports of the older Eastern synods. Units 1—3 have been completed. Our chief concern was to avoid duplication with this project, and the problem was further increased by the fact that the supporters of the *Corpus Lutheranicum* do not know precisely how far financial limitations will permit them to go. Individuals have expressed the desire to continue filming all materials of any length pertaining to Lutheranism in America up to 1850 or 1860. Such a project would require at least ten years for completion.

Finally, we encountered difficulty in assembling the materials. We had to ascertain where the various volumes, and, in instances, single issues of a single periodical, were located. For example, we had to go to as many as five or six depositories to assemble a complete set of a single periodical. Complete sets of some of the older Lutheran periodicals are a great rarity. Some depositories have only isolated issues of the first volumes. This will necessitate a laborious task of splicing the various issues after they have been filmed at the various depositories.

Present Status

Thus far the minutes of the *Gesamtgemeinde* of St. Louis have been filmed on 100 feet of film. Negotiations are under way at present for the filming rights and for the actual process of filming the 26 periodicals selected. Via correspondence the following depositories are at work for us in this project: Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.; Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.; Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md.; Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.; Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.; Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill.; Lutheran Seminary, Mankato, Minn.; Duke University, Durham, N. C.; Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky.; Chicago Public Library, Chicago Ill.; Capitol University, Columbus, Ohio; Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa; Lutheran Seminary, Maywood, Ill.; Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. The first of these completed films should be arriving in St. Louis during the next few days. Negotiations are also under way to obtain

film copies of the chronicle laboriously kept by the first Lutheran pastor in Wisconsin, the Rev. L. F. E. Krause.

Prospectus

Future microfilming needs include the supplementation and the completing of the periodicals selected initially but not available during this year and the beginning of the work of filming the second group of periodicals to be culled from the complete set of titles compiled this year.

Next year's project should also include the chronicles of other Lutheran settlements in such areas as Fort Wayne, Ind., Chicago, Ill., New York, N. Y., Cleveland, Ohio, San Francisco, Calif., and Frankenmuth, Mich.

The third category to receive film attention consists of historical documents and manuscripts, autobiographical accounts of the Lutheran leaders, histories of the Lutheran Church, etc., which are no longer obtainable in the original.

Respectfully submitted,

AUG. R. SUELFLOW
Director, C. H. I.

Corrections

In the spring 1955 *QUARTERLY* (Vol. 28, p. 40), we erroneously reported that our former life member, August J. Luedtke, was married on April 3, 1898. He was married to Anita Goll on February 15, 1915.

The Rev. Herman H. Koppelman as well as the Rev. H. Earl Miller also brought additional information to our attention in regard to Walter P. Schoenfuhs' article on Baierlein. In the same issue of the *QUARTERLY*, page 3, it was stated that "the Diocese of Pondicherry . . . numbered 1, 29, 844 [sic] souls." These men inform us that the Indians do not count by units of three digits as we do. They have thousands, then lakhs (1,00,000). (1 lakh, 29 thousand, and etc.) This is followed by crores (1,00,00,000). We would say 10 million. We simply shift the commas so we can read the figures.

On page 21 it was also stated that Bangalore was 50 miles west of Madras. The distance is probably closer to 200 miles.

Cleveland Organizes

On Thursday evening, May 26, the Cleveland Chapter of the C. H. I. was finally organized, even if only provisionally. The dinner meeting, attended by almost 40 interested men and women, from ten of our Lutheran churches, was held in the parish hall of Zion Church, the mother of Cleveland Lutheranism, founded in 1848. The Rev. Clarence Schuknecht, fourth pastor of Zion, welcomed the group and then asked the undersigned to explain briefly the pur-



Participating clergy with Edwin and A. C. Schwan, l. to r., PP. George Kuechle of St. Mark, Theo. Dorn of St. Paul, founded 1880 by H. C. Schwan and his son Paul, and Clarence Schuknecht, the fourth pastor of Zion Church, founded by H. C. Schwan in 1843

pose of the meeting. After these explanatory remarks, the Rev. Theo. Dorn, pastor of St. Paul, Zion's nearest daughter, celebrating her diamond jubilee this year, was introduced as chairman of the meeting, who in turn called upon Dr. John H. Meyer, pastor emeritus of St. Paul, Lakewood, to explain the purpose and constitution of the C. H. I. and its various branches. The discussion led to the unanimous resolve to organize a chapter on motion offered by a native Clevelander, the Rev. Henry Woidtke, pastor of Redeemer, the first English congregation of our Synod in Cleveland.

Temporary officers elected by acclamation are Dr. H. Bartels,

pastor emeritus of Grace, president; Miss Gertrude Krueger, church secretary of Grace Church, secretary; the Rev. Paul Roeder, pastor of Mount Hope Lutheran Church, treasurer. Permanent organization will be effected at the fall meeting, tentatively planned for Monday evening, October 31, when we hope to have a larger attendance and plan our first project. Meanwhile, the library of Pastor M. Ilse, Sr., lately deceased, is being combed for items that might be of interest for our archives. A committee consisting of Dr. J. H. Meyer and Pastors Dorn and Kuechle will submit the draft of a constitution for our chapter.

Since the 50th Anniversary of Dr. H. C. Schwan's death, Zion's first pastor, fell on the following Sunday, May 29, it was resolved to place a wreath on his grave at Lakeview Cemetery near President Garfield's tomb. This was done on a chilly Memorial Day, in the presence of some of the officers, by two of his grandsons, Messrs. Ernest, now in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., and A. C. Schwan, ex-pastor and member of Grace, Cleveland.

GEORGE KUECHLE

Disciples on the March

The Disciples of Christ Historical Society is currently engaged in planning a new \$500,000 building program. The project, according to *United Evangelical Action* (April 1, 1955) has been underwritten by the Phillips family of Butler, Pa.

The new library and headquarters building for the society is "to be erected in the heart of Nashville's University Center area as a memorial to the late Thomas W. Phillips," a layman of that denomination.

"The building, expected to cost well over \$400,000, will be a two-story stone structure of Gothic architecture. It will be fully air-conditioned, fireproof, humidity-controlled. It will contain approximately 20,000 square feet of floor area, providing space for more than 100,000 volumes."

In April 1952 the headquarters of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society was moved from Canton, Mo. The society was organized on May 5, 1941, at St. Louis, Mo.

Interludes and Postludes

We are currently on the trail of the musical collections and productions of J. G. Kunz. Teacher Kunz was principal of Immanuel Lutheran School in St. Louis and composed several tunes for hymns. He may perhaps be best known in synodical circles for his *Immanuels-Sängerbund*, a collection of 100 four-part harmonizations for male choruses. A copy of this volume, 10×7½, is deposited in the Institute. It is marked Volume 1, and the question arises whether subsequent volumes ever appeared. Volume 1 was published by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, in 1888.

Kunz also collected preludes, interludes, and postludes in three separate volumes. *Vor- und Zwischenspiele von Sangbaren Chormelodien* (nach Layritz) published by Wiebusch, St. Louis, in 1866, consisting of 24 pages. His *Vor- und Zwischenspiele zu den Sangbarsten Chormelodien* aus "Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs von Dr. Fr. Layritz" was also published by Wiebusch, Saint Louis, in 1866, consisting of 96 pages. This volume contains organ pieces for the church taken from the collection of Layritz. The publishing date of his third volume, entitled *Zwischenspiele zu den gebräuchlichen Chorälen der ev. luth. Kirche*, is not known. It consists of 144 pages and was issued in St. Louis.

Anyöne having copies of these collections but no longer having any use for them would be augmenting our collection sizably by turning them over to our library. Information concerning Teacher Kunz is also herewith solicited.

A. R. S.

Book Notice

Memorial History, Lutheran Normal School, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., 1889 to 1918. By Sivert A. Jordahl, no publisher stated, 1954, 125 pages, 9×6. \$4.00.

This is a factual history of the normal school founded and operated by the Norwegian Synod. Prompted by the sad state of the church's parochial schools, the church resolved in 1887 to establish a teacher training school. In spite of poor financial support, the school was opened on October 1, 1889. When in 1917 the United Norwegian Lutheran Synod was organized, the new church found itself in possession of two normal schools only 20 miles apart. It was resolved to combine the two under the name of Augustana College at the Sioux Falls location.

Until the amalgamation was effected, 1,964 students had received instruction at the school. The largest enrollment (219) was registered in the school year of 1914 to 1915. A list of alumni is appended, as well as a biographical sketch of the instructors.

The author, Professor Jordahl, on the school's staff from 1898 to 1918 and thus intimately acquainted with the institution, has produced a fine source book dealing with secondary education in the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Copies may be ordered from the author, S. A. Jordahl, 1002 South Seventh St., Moorhead, Minn.

A. R. S.